



## Political Da'wah Activities of Ex-HTI Activists After its Dissolution in Indonesia

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### ABSTRACT

This article wants to explain about the proselytizing activities of former Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) activists after being disbanded by the government. As forbidden it turns out that the da'wah activities of ex-HTI activists are still continuing through bulletins that they distribute to mosques as well as through social media, where da'wah content is in the form of political issues wrapped with religious arguments, including spreading caliphate propaganda. They seek to change the system of a democratic country through da'wah activities to become an Islamic State under the Islamic caliphate. This research is a type of qualitative research using the library research approach as well as empirical social facts contained in the object under study and data collection techniques in the form of documentation results to see things that have been done before and to verify the validity of the data, the authors interpret and draw conclusions. The results of this study explain that even though HTI is a banned organization and has been disbanded by the government, they exist to carry out da'wah activities and spread political agendas and missions through da'wah, either carried out secretly or openly by disseminating their da'wah bulletins.

**Keywords:** *Activists, Da'wah, Ex HTI*

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the banned organizations calling for liberation wrapped in Islamic politics is Hizbut Tahrir (HT), which was founded by its initiator Taqiyuddin Nabhani. The activities they carry out tend to be political in nature and tend to give rise to movements that oppose the government, even though the resistance is not violent, but they do it with caliphate propaganda, rejecting Pancasila, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and democracy in Indonesia, and rejecting the legal system in force in Indonesia. They also regard Indonesia as a Darul kuffar State and its government as a

thagut. This of course gives rise to long-standing feelings and seems to have been neglected. So that the government under Jokowi's leadership officially dissolved HTI based on Menkumham Decree No. AHU-30.AH.01.08/2017. (Barratut Taqiyah Rafie, 2017).

Decision This dissolution of course created various kinds of polemics for HTI activists who were initially free to convey their political ideology, then began to relax. However, even though they have been disbanded, their missionary activities still exist by spreading their thoughts and teachings (Fitriyana, 2019). In fact, they are increasingly aggressively recruiting students, university students and ordinary people who do not have a well-established background in understanding religion. Students, university students and ordinary people who are the targets of their indoctrination are not random people, but people who do have intelligence, a high propensity for preaching and people who wish to change their lifestyle from bad old habits to good habits or better known as hijrah. (Fajriani, 2019).

The spirit of wanting to preach is certainly a good sign for everyone who embraces Islam in spreading the teachings of his religion. This is because people are not aware of the obligation to carry out amar ma'ruf nahi munkar. (Abdul Karim, 2018). They think that preaching is only a profession for the preacher. Inviting others to do good and preventing wrongdoing is obligatory for every Muslim. (Desi Syafriani, 2017). Although it is the right and obligation of every Muslim to invite others to do good, of course one must have 'knowledge coupled with religious experience which is the basic guide in conveying the right religion so that there are no mistakes in conveying and transforming knowledge so as not to mislead people. (Kustadi Suhandang, 2013).

HT's da'wah political gait has received various scrutiny by scholars. This can be seen, for example, in the book *Risalatul at-Tahdzir Minal Furuqi Tsalas* which is the work of Shaykh 'Abdullah al-Harori. He stated that there are three heretical groups which are very dangerous for the 'aqidah, namely al-Wahabiyyah, Hizbul Ikhwan (which is better known as Ikhwanul Muslimin), and Hizbut Tahrir. He mentioned that one of HT's delusions was that anyone who died and when he died had not yet pledged allegiance to a caliph, his death would be considered as the death of jahiliyyah, even considered as someone who worshiped idols. (Abdullah al-Harori, 2010). Thus, this group indirectly emphasizes that people who die before the bai'at of a caliph are considered as infidels who worship idols. Even though in Islam it is forbidden to make non-believers Muslim brothers and sisters, even if the infidel label is incorrect, it will return to those who disbelieved.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research is a qualitative research with library research and field research. Bibliographical data were obtained from several journal articles, magazines, books, research results in the form of theses, theses and dissertations as well as data sources relevant to library data. Meanwhile, field data was obtained from interviews by

contacting several informants from former HTI activists via online and in-person interviews. Researchers also participated in studies conducted by former HTI activities to see firsthand the da'wah activities they carried out. Data that has been successfully collected, then analyzed and concluded.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **History and Profile of HT in Indonesia**

HT is more accurately referred to as a political organization rather than a religious organization. This can be seen in each of its da'wah activities which tend to carry out khilafah propaganda and wish to revolutionize the democratic system in a country to become a khilafah system by implementing Islamic shari'a in it. (Faithful, 2021). In their political da'wah activities they spread more dominant understandings of studying politics and criticizing the government system. They consider that the system of government other than the khilafah system is a form of the infidel system (thagut) because it does not use the khilafah system as a leader. (Fahmil Rozi, 2018). They also allude to liberalism and capitalism in a democratic country that does not implement the khilafah system as a state principle, such as Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. (Baidhawiy, 2015)

HT was founded by a person who had been a judge in Mandatory Palestine named Taqiyuddin Nabhani in 1953. Then he proclaimed himself and stated that the organization he founded was an Islamic political organization that aspired to rebuild the state system into an Islamic daulah or Khilafah Islamiyah system. In Indonesia, HT was brought by Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi in 1982 who was a pioneer of HT in Australia and also a Lebanese Arab immigrant. Then moved to Bogor to fulfill an invitation from KH. Abdullah bin Nuh is a mudir from Ma'had al-Ghazali Bogor, West Java. (Faithful, 2021). The relationship between KH. Abdullah bin Nuh and Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi were only between father and adopted son, not a meeting discussing and bringing and spreading HT's political ideology to Indonesia. Because initially KH. Abdullah visited Australia, also at the same time visiting his son who lives there named Hamid who never returned to Indonesia. Then KH. Abdullah met with Muslims in Australia and received a warm and kind welcome, because Australian Muslims really admire KH Abdullah. Likewise Abdurrahman admired and liked him. So that in the end KH. Abdullah considered him as an adopted son. For that reason, KH. Abdullah invited Abdurrahman to Bogor, West Java, not because he wanted to spread HT's understanding, (Andy Sagita, 2021). However, it is unfortunate that KH. Abdullah was also dragged along and received a negative assessment from the public because Abdurrahman's presence was considered to have participated in pioneering HT to Indonesia. (Soetomo, 2017).

When Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi came to Indonesia to fulfill the invitation, he then settled in Bogor and visited the al-Ghifari Mosque which is a gathering place for Muslim activists and the mosque is the largest headquarters for activists at the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) and serves as the socialization center as well as interaction

with activists in the mosque. From the interaction and social activities that he built at the mosque, it turned out to be fruitful and well received by Muslim activists there. Then it developed through a network of young people, namely the establishment of the Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) and experienced rapid development during the Suharto era. (Faithful, 2021). Apart from going through the Campus Da'wah Institute, HT also places its role in spreading teachings through the Rohis (Islamic Spiritual) program in schools in Indonesia. (Irfan Noor, 2012).

At the peak of the development of HT in Indonesia during the New Order era led by Suharto, HTI did not miss the opportunity to spread political ideology to their target mad'u. They indoctrinate that upholding the khilafah is obligatory, even upholding the khilafah is a noble and noble behavior. They also say that upholding the khilafah is an order from Allah SWT which is imposed on all Muslims in the world and it is obligatory for every Muslim to contribute to the upholding of the khilafah. They also say that anyone who tries to get in the way of establishing the caliphate will be subject to sin and will be denounced as the greatest immoral act. And the sin is thorough from among the lower classes of society to the rulers.(M. Bagus Kurnia and Echo of Officer Yustika, 2018).

HT has da'wah activists known as Hizbullah, Syabab and Syababah. (Moses, 2020). These activists were indoctrinated that by establishing a khilafah, the peace of the world's Muslims would be guaranteed, because it was led by a khilafah that led all the world's Muslims. (Khudori, 2017). This was found by researchers through their studies which were followed by the researchers themselves as a form of participant to strengthen the results of the researchers' findings.

This HT doctrine received a response from Gus Baha that HT's desire was to unite Muslims around the world under the auspices of one leader, namely the caliphate in the Islamic daulah system which they themselves misinterpreted.(Luffy, 2019), However, they forget that the way they clearly call themselves a Hezbollah, then form a new group of organizations, indirectly they are making it more difficult for unity to happen. With the reason to increase the number of divisions of existing Islamic organizations.(Gus Baha, 2021). HT activists also said that the glory of Islam would not be established without a khilafah. They also spread stories about the golden age of Islam in the era of the Rashidun khulafaur as a benchmark for comparing the prosperity and peace that Muslims received at that time, with the present in order to burn the spirit of the struggle of the Hezbollah to invite others to participate in establishing the khilafah. (al-Wa'ie, 2017) And the activist's statement has confirmed that there really is something that motivates these activists to uphold the caliphate through the stories conveyed by HT mentors in each halaqah, so that this spreads quickly in Indonesia, because the majority of Muslims in Indonesia are still difficult to compare between Islamism and Arabism.(M. Bagus Kurnia and Echo of Officer Yustika, 2018)

### **HTI Da'wah Activities Before Disbandment**

Based on the previous explanation, the initial deployment of HT in Indonesia was carried out by Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi in Bogor, West Java, starting with interacting and outreach to young activists at the al-Ghifari Mosque at the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB). By holding a meeting in the form of a halaqah in order to study, read and interact regarding the mindset introduced by HT through their media. In his political da'wah activities he also uses books written by the founder HT Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani, books that have been translated into Indonesian, al-Islam bulletin, al-Wa'ie Journal. (Fitriyana, 2019). They also wrote various books in which they discussed the rules of the order of life and more dominantly discussed the system of government in a country. Such as the book tarjim rules of life in Islam, the system of rules in Islam, studies of Islamic political thought, Mafahim Hizbut Tahrir, the Promised Khilafah Rasyidah and its challenges, Mafahim Islamiyah and so on.

Based on CNN Indonesia's online news, after the young Islamic activists and students understood, then digested the results of the halaqah or meetings held by HTI activists, afterwards they gave the student a mission to invite other students who had not yet joined the HTI organization, both on campus -their own campuses and other campuses that are the target of the spread of their political doctrine. (Faithful, 2021). At some, such as Padjadjaran State University, Airlangga University /UNAIR, University of Indonesia/UI, Bandung Institute of Technology / ITB, Gajah Mada University/UGM and other campuses that were targets of the spread and propaganda of the caliphate.

Not only among students, HT's target of political preaching also includes elements of community leaders, ordinary people, even high school students are also targeted by this organization. This was obtained from the results of interviews with several HTI activists, starting from among the women, among students and among university students, the way they recruited was done using the same approach. As stated by DA, a student at a vocational school in Binjai, she said that at first, HTI activists visited their schools by asking permission from the school to carry out socialization in stages. Through classes to convey appeals and invitations to take part in a series of their agenda, namely holding a seminar at the Umar Baki Binjai Hall. After that, participant filtering is carried out by zoning which is taken from the attendance sheet filled by the participants when entering the hall. After zoning, the HTI activists formed the group according to the zoning that had been filtered through the absence earlier by facilitating mentors who are also HT activists, to conduct halaqah or routine studies twice a week. DA also said that the contents of the study presented at the beginning were studies of the rules of Islamic life, until the next meeting began to discuss the caliphate and began to criticize the system of government and politics in Indonesia. then the HTI activists formed the group according to the zoning that had been filtered through the attendance earlier by facilitating mentors who were also HT activists, to conduct halaqah or routine studies twice a week. DA also said that the contents of the study presented at the beginning were studies of the rules of Islamic life, until the next meeting began to discuss the caliphate and began to criticize the system of government and politics in

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Thus, from the results of DA's statement as an informant in this interview, the researcher found that there was a brainwashing program in the content of their study or halaqah. The same thing was also obtained from another informant, namely RA, who stated that this was true. However, HT calls it *ghozwul fikri* or thought war.

It didn't stop there, SR, who was a STAI Binjai student, also stated that he experienced the same thing as what was disclosed by DA. He was invited to take part in a series of HTI activity agendas, starting from Islamic seminars, halaqahs, to invitations to take to the streets under the guise of peaceful demonstrations, as well as welcoming other Islamic holidays such as *tarhib Ramadhan*, even *halal bihalal* filled with calls for thoughts and their political goal, namely to make the caliphate replace the *kufur* system of democracy. Then they also said that when they no longer wanted to take part in the HT halaqah that had been planned by their mentor, they experienced an event that greatly disturbed their private lives. The informant said that when they no longer wanted to attend the halaqah,

Of course, with information from several informants who were successfully interviewed by researchers, it can be ascertained that the model for conveying HT ideology is intimidating preaching. By making solicitations with compelling appeals to achieve their political goals, namely changing the democratic system of government into a caliphate system. SH, who was also an informant from among the women, also conveyed something similar to the other informants. He stated that initially HTI embraced him by inviting him to take part in their version of halaqah studies. Even though he admits that he does not understand the content of HT's study, he still listens to and follows a series of other HT agendas. SH stated that the material from HT's studies discussed politics and criticism government. Until finally SH felt bored and no longer followed the agenda of the HT.

In addition, before being disbanded, the researchers also participated in HT's agenda by holding peaceful demonstrations on the streets. Like a parade in welcoming Islamic holidays. And it turned out that the agenda was coordinated by HTI. The peaceful demonstration was carried out by walking in groups around the city. Along the way the orators loudly criticized the government and echoed and shouted "*KHILAFAH..!!!*" which ends with the sound of *takbir* many times. What they are doing is part of a subtle act of rebellion regarding the rejection of the democratic system adopted by the Indonesian state. And this is one of the reasons why HTI was later disbanded by the government, which if left unchecked would become a threat to the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) with its motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. (Marfiando, 2020).

### **Dakwah Activities of Ex-HTI After Disbandment**

As previously explained, the HT organization is a political movement that wants to restore the Islamic government system, which according to them the current government system has been poisoned by capitalism.(Sudarman, 2017). Their version of the Islamic government system will run with a system that is in accordance with Islamic law. However, the HT political da'wah movement is not solely in a new country or an empty land that has no rules. Rather, it moves within a country that already contains and has rules as well as a system and ideology within the nation and state.(Shobron, 2014)

Even though it has been disbanded and is no longer discussed much, even a number of people no longer care about what HTI activities are and what kind of organization they are. However, researchers deliberately returned to conduct research even though it had been disbanded for a long time. In carrying out his political proselytizing activities, HT still exists. Not with a new face and not with the latest method. Their missionary movement is a missionary movement that is carried out in a hidden way or is known as an underground movement. HT continues in every way to carry out its role as an Islamic organization and a da'wah organization, it's just that they don't use HT symbols because they are worried that they will be disbanded, because the HT organization is a prohibited and illegal organization that has officially been disbanded. (Kusuma, 2019)

Even though the government had disbanded it, ex-HTI activists did not feel any loss, they even benefited from the dissolution.(Ahmad Jilul Qurani Farid, 2019). This can be seen from their statement which stated that the dissolution carried out by the government by revoking all permits for their forms of activity would provoke sympathy and empathy from other Muslims, and would create a sense of belief from other Muslims that the country that do not use the caliphate, then Islam will be discriminated against. They also stated that they got free promotion for the government's announcement of the dissolution of HT. Because, not a few Muslims who initially did not know about HT, then became aware of and aware of the real existence of HT.

And the official dissolution that has been carried out by the government has not made HT activists weak and careless, instead HT has intensified its da'wah movement, and is still holding a number of activities as it was before it was disbanded. Like the weekly halaqah, they are still running. The findings of this study were supported when researchers attended directly to the field to reinforce previous findings when they carried out weekly halaqah studies. They interact as the start of the activity by recruiting young people from various social backgrounds including street funk kids. They form a hijrah community to facilitate and foster people who enter their studies before entering the halaqah stage.



From the picture above, there are three forms or stages that they do as follows:

- Tsaqif stage (coaching stage)
- Tafa'ul stage (interaction stage)
- The stage of istilamu al-hukmi (acceptance of power). (Shobron, 2014)

Of these three stages, it is the third stage that they desire to be realized, namely the istilamu al-hukmi (acceptance of power) stage which is the final stage for implementing Islamic values as a whole in the world.

Researchers also found a number of their activities as illustrated:



- Syabah*in various sectors. The agenda is filled by HT activists by zoning them so that they continue to interact in adjacent locations.
- Muslim revolutionary movement wal Muslimat. This agenda was filled by HT activists by carrying out a number of designs to interact with people who had not yet joined HT.
- Muslim talk shows. The sharing agenda was held by fellow HT activists with discussions about Muslim women's problems today.
- The agenda of the figures with the theme (The Deterioration of the Essential Beliefs of the Muslim Ummah). It's the same as the talk show activities, but for presenters, HT activists present motivator figures. However, the speakers are mentors who are considered experts in HT.

- e) *Dauroh* studies of Muslims and Muslim women Miss Heaven. This agenda consists of a combination of youth and adults, and activists become the coordinators of the event.

Not only preaching directly, HT also still exists preaching through print media, which was originally an Al-Islam da'wah bulletin to an Al-Kaffah da'wah bulletin with various themes. Sometimes it contains the order of life and not infrequently it also contains criticism regarding the system of government and the enforcement of the khilafah. The following are some of the bulletins that they used as propaganda media, including:



*Source: Ex-HTI Interview*

Apart from preaching through print media, ex-HTI activists also actively participate in spreading their thoughts and teachings through social media. By using meme content and solicitation images that contain criticism for the government. There are also those that contain motivational words to encourage other fellow activists in their goal of upholding the caliphate. Like the picture found by researchers through the Facebook account of one of the ex-HTI activists.



Source: Facebook



Source: Facebook

Apart from memes and posts that contain criticism of the government, ex-HTI activists also actively criticize and respond to news related to the government by spreading it directly through their respective activist accounts, and they are also active on a number of social media and a number of other instant messaging applications. to spread their political ideology. As can be seen below:



Source : Captured Facebook

Supporting documents obtained through searches that the authors have carried out through their social media show that even though HTI has been disbanded, their ideas or ideology still exist and continue to be disseminated. This is a threat to the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution and Diversity. Because when HTI was disbanded, their political activities were not simultaneously banned, their vision and mission continued. This is a real threat because they reject the existing system in Indonesia. (Qohar and Hakiki, 2017).

## CONCLUSION

HTI is a political movement using Islamic symbols to revolutionize the democratic system in Indonesia with a caliphate system. HTI before they were disbanded and even after disbanding in 2017 their political da'wah movement still exists. They feel that they have experienced no loss after the dissolution, they even get a new enthusiasm in spreading their political da'wah and feel confident that they will gain more sympathy and support from Muslims because they think that Muslims are being wronged by the government. Not only that, they also stated that they received free promotion for the dissolution by the government. Because not a few Muslims who initially did not know about HTI so they know what the HTI movement is like.

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